Surára
Pakidái

/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

• 835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. Dur- 304 ing the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.

881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

●835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247).

727 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about
83 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the
159 Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumí and her daughter Ha[illegible]amá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromá is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
• [835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
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342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

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IX. Myths and Legends

[115] The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemãõ:

The Creation of the Yanonámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapó, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

• [835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

[843]

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[601] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[678] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[64] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
• 835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawä gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawä continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

*628 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
*629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
574 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
837 highly prized by the hosts.
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• 835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kaobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yanomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally, and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in question did not want them to marry into the village of the allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

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835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

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appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, KąobäwÄ was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, KrÄömi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The YąnomamÖ rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the YąnomamÖ avoid incestuous affairs, according to KąobawÄ, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. KąobawÄ himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

835 601 183 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the terminology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 601 183 582 [162] [562] Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that IshiweiwÄ of PatanowÄ-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. RëromawÄ, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, BäkÄböwÄ, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of BäkÄböwÄ's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

837 *621 578 [721] The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

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[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

*622 Koima, a girl of
613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawä, a young man from
591 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had
583 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom
606 he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583 refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep
591 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
578 • 835 Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
613 *624 Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims. Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. 121 I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that 913 polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than 575 his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his 583 836 wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual 837 alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of 128 them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend 162 Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions 602 675 in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relation- 562 578 ship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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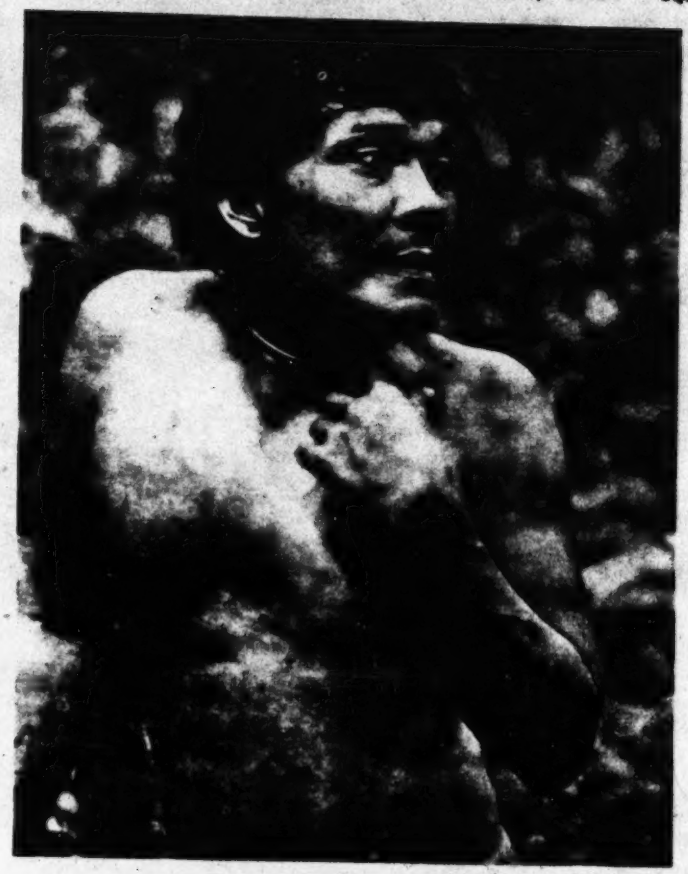

Fig. 1–3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

. I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

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Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1–3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1–4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kąobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kąobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kąobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kąobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kąobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kąobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kąobawä outward to the others; and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kąobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kąobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kąobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kąobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kąobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kąobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kąobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each